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in the Literature; and, in conclusion, What the English have Done, What They are Doing.

The author is no kin to the scientific historian of the past generation whose pride was the precision of facts and the minute completeness of narrative. His easy transitions between widely separated events may be refreshing, but his carelessness or inaccuracy in matters of fact gives a harmful impression as to the soundness of the several contentions and main theses; but fortunately these petty faults rarely vitiate an argument or affect the general tenor of the conclusions. Parenthetically it may be observed that the translator has failed to correct even obvious errors and has not refrained from marring a normally good style with some curious gallicisms. Criticism of such faults of detail should not, however, detract from the credit for undertaking so difficult an essay amid the confusion of war, nor from praise for the clearness and vigor with which the main conclusions are sustained.

Professor Cestre has rightly grasped the essential characteristics of the English people and the main elements in their political development and in their relations to French national life and political progress. He understands, as Continentals too rarely do, the mixture of idealism and realism in the English character. He appreciates the steady quiet process of adjustment by which the English have extended the franchise and civil rights among themselves and the privilege of responsible government to their colonies, and the sincerity and consistency with which England in foreign relations has pursued the policy of balance of power. He comprehends the differences and similarities in the individualism and the idealism of the English and the French, and so is able to give a clear and correct exposition of the mutual reactions of the two peoples in the attainment of liberty. He realizes that liberty is a means not an end, while the individual is not a means but an end. In antithesis to German nationalism, absolutist, self-centred, self-seeking, with no consideration for the individual, he reveals English and French nationalism, with their modicum of self-centred character and self-seeking purpose, substituting liberty in place of the absolute state, promoting the welfare of the individual as their end not as an incidental means, inspired with the sense of chivalry and *noblesse oblige*, and honoring, in good sportsmanship, the achievements of others and respecting their rights to share in world affairs in proportion to their just merits. It would be a mistake to close without referring to the excellent critiques of the political philosophies of Burke and Carlyle.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Behind the Scenes in the Reichstag: Sixteen Years of Parliamentary Life in Germany. By the Abbé E. WETTERLÉ, ex-Deputy at the Reichstag and in the Alsace-Lorraine Chamber. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1918. Pp. xiii, 256. \$2.00.)

ABBÉ WETTERLÉ, who fled from Alsace just as martial law was de-

clared in 1914, covers in these reminiscences his connection with German national political life from his entrance into the Reichstag in 1898 to the outbreak of the war. The fact that he departed in such haste that he was obliged to leave his papers behind, probably accounts for some errors of fact in his narrative, such as the statement (p. 119) regarding the organization of the Reichstag of 1912. The Centre delegates did not vote for Bebel for temporary presiding officer, but for Peter Spahn, who was elected but refused to sit in the presidency with Scheidemann. Also, Richthofen's "thoughtless exclamation" regarding the use of the Guelph funds for corruption of the press should have been a surprise to no one, as this "significant confession" merely repeated what had been known to every newspaper reader since the early days of the empire, and had indeed been foreshadowed by Bismarck in a Reichstag speech as early as January 30, 1869 ("Reptilienfonds").

It is also incorrect to ascribe Bülow's fall entirely to the conflict over the *Erbschaftssteuer* and to William's personal ill-will over the *Daily Telegraph* affair. The chancellor was forced out because the Centre leaders seized the opportunity to revenge themselves for the dissolution over colonial affairs in 1906.

Wetterlé's book is not, however, to be judged by the standards of scholarship. The clever editor of the *Journal de Colmar* and the *Nouvelliste d'Alsace-Lorraine* jumbles together persons and events in the approved manner of the *feuilleton*. The chapter on Pan-Germanism (VI.) is an extreme example of this casual wandering, which passes on from the Lex Heinze to the economic policies of the Reichstag, and from Bülow's treatment of the Centre to colonial policies and manipulation of the budget, with the slap-dash method of the journalist and the inconsequence of the *causeur*. To these he adds the wit and bitterness of the accomplished political pamphleteer. His characterizations include nearly all of the leading national figures of the last two decades; and if we except the rather sympathetic portraits of Eugen Richter, Friedrich Naumann and (*mirabile dictu!*) Parson Stoecker, there is hardly an agreeable picture among them. In the glib style of the *pasquinade* he puts before us the Pan-Germanic leader Hasse ("a vulgar face enframed by a red beard"), Bassermann ("outrageously pomaded and perfumed"), and Arendt ("a tobacco jar, perched on two match-stalks and surmounted by a deformed lemon"). His bitterest phrases are reserved for Lieber, the two Spahns, and Erzberger, the leaders of the Centre party, whose efforts to win over the delegates from Alsace-Lorraine were a constant and conspicuous failure.

However, in spite of personal abuse and much undignified tittle-tattle, the book throws many interesting side-lights on the psychology of the Nationalists in Alsace and on their relation to the fractions in the Reichstag. Interesting too are its pictures of the cumbersome machinery of the German parliament and of the social barriers between the fractions. These, with his account of the gradual conquest of the

Centre and Progressives by Pan-Germanism, are set forth in a tone of caustic sprightliness which ever borders on caricature.

Beyond these side-lights, it can hardly be said that the author adds to our knowledge of persons and events, though here and there we are helped to complete the picture of the political development of the period. New to the reviewer is the account of Bethmann-Hollweg's attempt early in 1914 to get the Bishop of Strassburg to discipline the clerical delegates of Alsace, as well as the evidence of Lieber's hostility to the Alsatian delegates (p. 61), and the influence of Legien, the head of the Socialist trade-unions, in driving the leaders of Socialism toward Possibilism (p. 183). Most important, perhaps, is the detailed account of Wetterlé's intervention in the first Morocco crisis as intermediary between the German Foreign Office and a mysterious representative of the French ministry (p. 236 ff.).

ROBERT H. FIFE, JR.

The Eclipse of Russia. By E. J. DILLON. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1918. Pp. vii, 423. \$4.00.)

FEW foreigners have had better opportunities to become acquainted with the complex political forces in Russia than Dr. Dillon. A graduate of two Russian universities, and a professor of comparative philology at the Ukrainian University of Kharkov, he has also served as an editor on two Russian newspapers and has long been noted for his contributions to the *Contemporary Review* and other periodicals outside Russia. More than that, he was for twenty years the intimate friend of Count Witte; he lived in Witte's house, accompanied him on his journeys, handled the great finance minister's private papers, and was the recipient of his after-dinner meditations and reminiscences. Quite naturally, therefore, Boswell dedicates his volume "To the memory of my friend and Russia's unique statesman, S. I. Witte". If one were to sum up Dr. Dillon's conclusions in a sentence, one would say that the eclipse of Russia is due to the fact that Witte was not allowed, owing to the weakness of Nicholas II. and the rottenness of the court around him, to carry out the peaceful reforms and development which might have retarded, if it did not avert, the collapse of the Tsarist state.

The first half of the volume will prove less interesting to historians than the later chapters. It is made up of a rather rambling, anecdotal, and philosophical analysis of the causes of the Russian *delirium tremens*. As the author departed from Russia in March, 1914, and unfortunately left behind many of his notes where they are inaccessible, he has to rely on his memory, on his general knowledge of pre-war conditions, and on his own previous articles—which he frequently quotes—when they show how prescient were his prophecies. Among the causes of Russia's downfall he emphasizes four. The first is the "predatory character of the Tsardom", the steady conquest of alien peoples which has given